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ABSTRACT

For a study, a path model was developed and tested representing variables that relate to sexual coercion. Specifically, sex, who asked, who paid, relational stage, past/current relationship, attitudes, drug or alcohol use, coercion strategies, and victim resistance were proposed and their effects examined. Data were collected by using electronic data bases and a search of the reference section for applicable manuscripts. Results indicated that the level of actual or perceived coerciveness is a function of the level of coerciveness of the strategy, whether or not a prior relationship existed, and the attitude that person has toward women. Results also indicated determinations of whether a particular action is perceived as a rape or coerced depends on the attitudes of the person making the evaluation and the perception of the situation. Implications of the model are for educational and intervention efforts. (Contains a table of data, 2 figures, and 69 references.) (Author/CR)

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Variables Related to Sexual Coercion: A Path Model

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Paper presented at the 1997 National Communication Annual Conference in Chicago, IL.

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Running Head: Coercion Path Model

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Abstract

This study presents a path model representing variables that relate to sexual coercion. Specifically, sex, who asked, who paid, relational stage, past/current relationship, attitudes, drug or alcohol use, coercion strategies, and victim resistance were proposed and their effects examined. Results indicate that the level of actual or perceived coerciveness is a function of the level of coerciveness of the strategy, whether or not a prior relationship existed, and the attitude that person has towards women. The results indicate determinations of whether an particular action is perceived as a rape or coerced depends on the attitudes of the person making the evaluation and the perception of the situation.

Variables Related to Sexual Coercion: A Path-Model

"Smart Date" is a Web site co-founded by Jerry Noble, a private pilot, and Frank Noble, a former police officer and past president of San Luis Obispo's rape crisis center (Temple, 1997). The purpose of the site is to enable women to send their upcoming date plans to "an electronic message system that lets users document their dating plans for use by police if the unthinkable happens and they never return home" (Temple, 1997, p. 4D). One goal of the Web site is to reduce date rape and date assaults. Through Smart Date, a woman can further document her whereabouts:

> In addition to logging their dating or travel plans, registrants can make unlimited postings in a confidential electronic diary called the National Women's Message Center, a companion to the Smart Date Web site that was also developed by Noble and Default. Users can privately document incidents of abuse, sexual harassment or assault in the event the information is needed someday for police reports or legal proceedings (Temple, 1997, p. 4D).

Is such a service needed or even wanted in our society? Apparently so. During Smart Date's first 24 hours of service, over 1,000 submissions were received and as were numerous supportive emails (Temple, 1997).

Sexual coercion and rape are pervasive in our society, with both men and women serving as perpetrators (Sigelman, Berry & Wiles, 1984) and targets (e.g., Muehlenhard & Cook, 1988; Poppen & Segal, 1988; Struckman-Johnson, 1988). According to Poppen and Segal (1988), some studies report as many as 75% of women being victimized by sexual coercion and as many as 63% of men having engaged in unwanted sex (Muehlenhard & Cook, 1988).

Nevertheless, the majority of studies on sexual coercion examine the man as the perpetrator and the woman as the victim (e.g., Koss, 1988; Muehlenhard, 1988). In a study with a sample of nearly 1500, Koss (1988) found 71% of women to report her date as the perpetrator in instances of sexual contact and 85%

reported their date as perpetrating sexual coercion. Similarly, 70% reported their date as attempting rape and 57% reported their date as committing rape. According to Russell (1993) (cited in Kuhn, 1996), between 25 and 60% of male students reported the probability of forcing a women to have sex if they could get away with it. The FBI's Uniform Crime Report (1991), based on reports representing 96% of the U.S. population, indicated that there were 105,593 reported rapes in 1991 or approximately one rape every five minutes (Kuhn, 1996). The FBI report also indicated that between 1972 and 1991, reported rape had increased 128% and there were 1.5 million women who had survived forcible rape or attempted rape. Although these statistics are staggering, what we must remember is that these figures unfortunately only reflect reported rapes or rape attempts. According to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) (1975), for every one rape reported, three to 10 rapes are not reported. Similarly, these figures often do not reflect engagement in unwanted sex. Specifically women are often coerced into unwanted sex in more subtle ways—ways that would not be classified as "rape" (Muehlenhard & Schrag, 1991).

The literature examining sexual coercion suggests that certain variables are reported often or even continually as contributors to sexual coercion (e.g., Bostwick & DeLucia, 1992; Emmers & Allen, 1995; Muehlenhard, 1988). Based on previous research, the purpose of this paper is to cast a path model representative of the variables that predict sexual coercion. In doing so, the variables of gender, who asked/ who paid, relational stage, past/current relationship, attitudes toward women, drug or alcohol use, coercion strategies, and victim resistance are examined and reviewed. Second, a rationale is offered for the ordering of the variables in the path model. Third, the model is tested and results and implications are discussed. Finally, although this study will consider men's and women's victimization due to sexual coercion, its focus lies primarily with women's victimization. Specifically, government definitions of "rape" in the National Crime Survey limit "rape" to women and women comprise nearly all of rape victims (Koss, 1988).

Variables Related to Sexual Coercion

Before we begin, we must first define "coercion." Coercion exists in the forms of psychological and/or physical pressure (Struckman-Johnson, 1988). Psychological pressure often is conveyed through verbal coercion (e.g., Kanin, 1967; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Mosher & Anderson, 1986; Muehlenhard & Cook, 1988). Examples of verbal coercion include "What's the matter with you? Why

won't you have sex?", "If you don't give in, I'll tell everyone that you're a tease/gay," "Considering how much money I've spent on you tonight, you owe me," "Come on...don't be afraid... you know you want to do this."

Another form of coercion is physical coercion. Physical coercion involves physical force or threat of physical force or bodily harm if the target does not engage in sexual activity (e.g., Mahoney, Shively & Traw, 1986; Struckman-Johnson, 1988). Examples of physical force include, "He forced himself on me and I couldn't get away" or "I tried to stop him but he physically forced me" (Struckman-Johnson, 1988, pp. 238-239).

Although both men and women experience sexual coercion within heterosexual relationships, few studies examine men's victimization (Poppen & Segal, 1988). Specifically, of the few studies examining men's sexual assault, most men were assaulted by another man rather than a woman (Muehlenhard, Goggins, Jones, & Satterfield, 1991). One possible contributor for the prevalence of women's victimization, particularly due to physical coercion, is the likelihood of a woman's inferior bodily strength (vs. men's). Another contributor to sexual coercion may be the function of social and gender roles and what men and women are "supposed" to do. This notion is explored in the following section.

Gender

When considering "gender" as a variable in regard to date rape, we must consider men's and women's conditioning (e.g., gender roles, attitudes) as well as men's and women's perceptions of what sexual coercion and/or rape are. Embracing a gender identity of being "masculine" or "feminine" somewhat impacts perceptions of appropriate and inappropriate sexual behavior (Burke, Stets, & Pirog-Good, 1989).

Both women and men struggle with societal expectations in terms of sex and the personal or relational consequences of not engaging in sex (Anderson & Cummings, 1993). Even more complicated is that societal perceptions of men's and women's sexual behavior are sometimes diametrically opposed in terms of acceptance. Specifically, a woman who engages in sex is often perceived as a "slut" whereas views of a woman who abstains range from being a good girl to "frigid" (Muehlenhard & Cook, 1988) or a "tease" in the eyes of some men (Giarrusso, Johnson, Goodchilds, & Zellman, 1979), cited in Muehlenhard & Schrag (1991). Conversely, men who pursue women are "real men" whereas those who refrain from

aggressive pursuit can be perceived as homosexual (Kuhn, 1996) or as refusing to engage in something that is expected of them (Struckman-Johnson, 1988). Thus, the stereotypical dichotomy exists: Men who are real men have sex and women who are ladies do not (e.g., Muehlenhard et al., 1991).

Similarly, research suggests that traditional men, compared to nontraditional men, are more likely to find date rape justifiable (Muehlenhard et al., 1985). Women are often perceived as engaging in token resistance---saying "no" when she really means "yes." Some women engage in token resistance to preserve their reputation whereas men often perceive the resistance as a cue to continue onward, even if the woman truly means "no" (Muehlenhard & Hollabaugh, 1988).

It is not surprising that men and women often struggle with managing sexuality and sexual boundaries in their relationships. Evidence also suggests that what men and women deem to be "rape" differ. For example, in a sample of nearly 3,000 men, Koss (1988) found that "most men (88%) who reported an assault that met the legal definition of rape were adamant that their behavior was definitely not rape" (p. 19). Similarly, women may engage in unwanted sexual behavior due to the man's constant badgering for sex (Muehlenhard & Schrag, 1991). Koss et al. (1987) report that 44% of women engaged in unwanted sexual intercourse due to constant pressure and arguing. According to Muehlenhard & Falcon (????), men who adopt traditional gender roles are more likely to exercise verbal sexual coercion.

Attitudes Toward Women

Measures exist that assess men's and women's attitudes toward women, particularly men's and women's attitudes toward women who have been the target of sexual coercion or rape and the men who perpetrated the acts. As illustrated in the following section, measures of attitudes toward women closely relate to how men and women may view potentially sexual situations and unwanted sexual situations. Some of these measures include the RMA, AIV, Sexual Callousness, and the ASB scales. Each scale is reviewed below.

Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (RMA) (Burt, 1980; Burt & Albin, 1981). "Rape myth" assumes little responsibility on the part of the perpetrator. Specifically, those accepting rape myths are inclined to cast responsibility for the unwanted sexual episode on the victim and to assume that the victim could have avoided the situation if she really wanted to. Examples from the RMA scale include "a woman who goes to

the home or apartment of a man on their first date implies that she is willing to have sex" and "any healthy woman could resist if she really wants to" (Burt, 1980, p. 223).

Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence (AIV) against women scale (Burt, 1980). The AIV assesses the acceptance of using force on a woman in order to obtain sex. Examples of from the AIV scale include "being roughed up is sexually stimulating to women" and "many times a woman will pretend she doesn't want to have intercourse because she doesn't want to seem loose; but she's really hoping the man will force her" (p. 222).

Sexual Callousness Scale (Zillmann & Bryant, 1982). This scale asks participants to respond to a number of items representing callous or insensitive beliefs regarding sexual activity. Examples from the Sexual Callousness Scale include "pickups should expect to put out" and "a woman doesn't mean 'no' unless she slaps you" (p. 14).

Adversarial Sexual Beliefs (ASB) Scale (Burt, 1980). The ASB contains items that assess a man's reported acceptability of using force on females in male/female relationships and beliefs that such behaviors lead to sexual gratification. Items from the ASB include "men are only out for one thing" and "a woman will only respect a man who will lay down the law to her" (p. 222).

Although the above are certainly not an exhaustive review of measures assessing attitudes toward women, they are well-known and often-used measures in research on sexual coercion. As illustrated, items on the various scales share common characteristics: (1) rape is not considered to be a serious crime, (2) men acting as aggressors are only doing what "men do" or what women "expect or even want" men to do", (3) women often engage in token resistance (i.e., say "no" when she means "yes") in an effort to preserve their reputations, and (4) if a woman truly does not want to engage in sex, she could get out of the situation if she really wanted to.

Clearly, acceptance of such attitudes likely plays a role in both men's and women's behavior in relational or potentially sexual situations. Specifically, the man believes that he SHOULD persist and that the woman really wants him to, even if that "want" is not voiced. Similarly, the woman believes that she should "put out" because it's expected, she deserves to be treated in that way because she is a woman, or

she could get away if she REALLY didn't want to do this (i.e., if she didn't get away, it must have meant that she unconsciously wanted to have sex).

Relational Stage and Past/Current Relationship

When we consider the act of "rape," we often consider stranger rape. Koss (1988) found that 60-75% of the rapes reported in the National Crime Survey to be stranger rapes, however, 84% of Koss' sample reported on close acquaintance or dates. It is possible that many do not report acquaintance or date rape to law enforcement as readily as they would stranger rape because the boundaries are less clear. Specifically, a woman who is the victim of date rape may be more likely to question herself (e.g., "Maybe I asked for it? Maybe I didn't fight enough?") than a woman who is attacked and raped by the stranger. Whereas the latter is more easily identifiable as "rape," many women involved in date rape often do not recognize that a rape actually occurred (Koss, 1985).

Shotland (1992) argues that five forms of courtship rape exist, depending on the level of the relationship. The first three levels assume that no sexual activity have occurred in the relationship outside of the rape: (1) Beginning date rape occurs within the couples first few dates; (2) Early date rape involves a couple who have been out a few times, but have yet to negotiate relational rules; (3) Relational date rape occurs when the couple has negotiated their relational rules and believe that they know one another and have reduced uncertainty about one another; (4) Rape within sexually active couples—no physical abuse or force; and, (5) Rape within sexually active couples—use of physical force.

Similarly, some research suggests that a forced sex episode is less likely to be viewed as coercive or as date rape if the woman had engaged in sex with the man before. For example, Shotland and Goodstein (1992) found that individuals were less likely to acknowledge coercive sex as date rape if the woman had engaged in sex with the man 10 times prior to the episode (as opposed to once or twice). Additional research also suggests that women and men are less likely to view unwanted sex on a traditional date or a date in a closer relationship (vs. with a stranger or pickup date) as "rape" (e.g., Jenkins & Dambrot, 1987; Koss, 1985).

Who Initiated and Who Paid

Research findings regarding who initiates and pays for a date suggest that the woman is in an awkward position regardless of whether she was the initiator or the receiver of the date proposal. Often times, the woman is the receiver of date proposal because modern day dating rituals typically follow traditional dating scripts (Check & Malamuth, 1983). Unfortunately, some men perceive a woman's willing acceptance of his date proposal, his transportation, and his expenses as justification to be sexually aggressive (Harney & Muehlenhard, 1991). For example, Muehlenhard et al. (1985) found that that if a woman allows that man to pay for the date that the man may perceive the woman as being interested in sex. Similarly, research also suggests that men perceive a woman more willing to engage in sex and are also more likely to justify their pursuing sex without a woman's consent if the man paid for the date (Muehlenhard, 1988). In a word, these findings support the notion that the man feels as though he is "owed" something and the woman may feel as though she "owes" him as well (Korman, 1983).

Conversely, findings also suggest that women who initiate dates and/or pay for them may be perceived as negatively, if not more so. Specifically, men may perceive such women as "experienced," "loose" or interested in sex. According to Muehlenhard (1988), men often interpret a woman's date invitation as an invitation for sex. For example, Muehlenhard and Scardino (1985) found that men enter into first dates with particularly high sexual expectations when the woman initiated the date. Other research has found similar results (Bostwick & DeLucia, 1992; Mongeau, Hale, Johnson, & Hillis, 1993; Mongeau & Carey, 1996).

Alcohol and Drugs

Research indicates that one-third to two-thirds of perpetrators and victims are under the influence of alcohol at the time of sexual assault (e.g., Koss & Dinero, 1989). Oftentimes, men will use drugs or alcohol to lower the inhibitions of their victims (Muehlenhard et al., 1991). Mosher and Andersen (1986) found that 75% of men in their sample used drugs or alcohol to persuade unwilling women to engage in sex. As well, perpetrators often use being under the influence as an excuse for their behavior (Levine & Kanin, 1987). Similarly, other findings support the notion that alcohol and drugs are used as coercive tools with unwilling partners (Christopher & Frandsen, 1990; Struckman-Johnson, 1988).

In instances of sexual contact, sexual coercion, and rape, alcohol and drugs also play a role for both the perpetrator and the victim. In a sample of nearly 1500, Koss (1988) found that a man's use of alcohol or drugs played a role in sexual contact 35% of the time, in sexual coercion 64% of the time, in attempted rape 54% of the time, and 73% of the time in the case of actual rape. Similarly, Koss found that women had been using alcohol or drugs in 29% percent of the sexual contact incidents, in 31% of the sexual coercion incidents, in 58% of the attempted rape incidents, and in 55% of the actual rapes.

Coerciveness of Strategy

Various forms of coercion exist. According to Muehlenhard and Schrag (1991), numerous forms of subtle, nonviolent forms of coercion exist: compulsory heterosexuality, gender roles, assumptions about the nature of sex, assumptions about the nature of marriage, fear of male violence, status coercion, economic coercion, discrimination against lesbians, verbal sexual coercion, alcohol and drugs, and rape without 'force' (pp. 116-126). For the purposes of this paper, and as mentioned earlier, our focus will primarily be physical (e.g., pushing, holding person down, hitting, actual rape) (e.g., Koss, 1988; Struckman-Johnson, 1988) and verbal coercion (e.g., persuading, arguing, verbal pressure, threats, use of guilt tactics, use of degradation tactics) (see Muehlenhard & Schrag, 1991).

Victim Resistance

"Resistance" can take on the form of verbal resistance (e.g., "No"), physical resistance (e.g., fighting, hitting, slapping), token resistance (e.g., saying "no" when what really is meant is "yes") (Muehlenhard & Hollabaugh, 1988). To begin, token resistance will be examined.

As noted above, "token resistance" involves an individual's saying "no" to sex when the individual has every intention of engaging in sex (Muehlenhard & Hollabaugh, 1988). Although evidence exists suggesting that both men and women engage in token resistance behaviors (Sprecher, Hatfield, Cortese, Potapova, & Levitskaya, 1994), the notion of token resistance is often focused on women. The following scenario indicates the equivocality conveyed by token resistance behavior:

> Tammy immediately pulled away from Dave and told him that she did not want them to get carried away. After she said this she placed Dave's hand on her breast (Burgoyne & Spitzberg, 1992, p. 33).

Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh (1988) found that as many as 39% of women have admitted to engaging in token resistance at least once and 17% have admitted to making a practice out of it. Problematically, many men interpret a woman's "no" to mean "yes" (Check & Malamuth, 1983). Specifically, men often interpret a woman's initial refusal as being coy, a tease, or as a bluff to protect her reputation.

Findings on verbal or physical resistance to sexual coercion indicate a lack consistency among the results (e.g., Atkeson, Calhoun, & Morris, 1989; Bart & O'Brien, 1985; Brady, Chrisler, Hosdale, Osowiecki, & Veal, 1991). Moreover, disagreement exists regarding whether to resist an attack or to acquiesce. Some research indicates that men or women who resist an attack are less likely to have a rape committed against them (Kleck & Sayles, 1990). Emmers and Allen (1995) found that men and women did not differ in overall resistance behaviors but that women engaged in more physical resistance behaviors than men.

Regarding the effectiveness of physical and verbal strategies, the findings are also mixed. Specifically, Ullman and Knight (1993) found that physical resistance strategies were most effective, others found that they instigated contact (Siegel, Sorenson, Golding, Burnam, & Stein, 1989). Siegel et al. found that verbal resistance strategies were a more effective tool in resisting sexual coercion. Conversely, Mc Donald (1971)found that a combination of physical and verbal strategies were most effective.

Justifiability and Willingness

Numerous studies have examined a perpetrator's justifiability for date rape and/or victim willingness (Bostwick & DeLucia, 1992; Muehlenhard, 1988; Muehlenhard et al. 1985). As mentioned earlier in this paper, several issues can contribute to perceived justifiability and victim willingness (e.g., who asked, who paid, sex roles, location of the encounter, etc.). Considering previous attention given to those variables, they will not be addressed again. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize the roles that those variables play in a perpetrator's perceptions of his being justified in coercing sex and perceptions of the woman's willingness to acquiesce.

Location of the Encounter

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The final variable that we will investigate is location of the encounter. Location of the encounter often contributes to a man's justification for the rape. For example, "She invited me back to her place, so she must be interested in sex" or "She willingly came back to my apartment, so she wants to have sex." Research indicates that a man's justifiability and perceived woman's willingness are highest when the date is at the man's apartment (as opposed to a movie or religious function) (Muehlenhard et al., 1985). Similarly, both men and women are more likely to report a date rape as more justified if the incident occurred at a man's apartment (as opposed to a movie) (Muehlenhard, 1988).

In terms of likelihood of occurrence, Muehlenhard and Linton (1987) report that date rapes are most likely to take place at the perpetrator's home, car or in an isolated location. Bart and O'Brien (1985) report that rapes are more likely to occur indoors than outdoors and that women have a decreased chance of getting away if the incident occurs indoors.

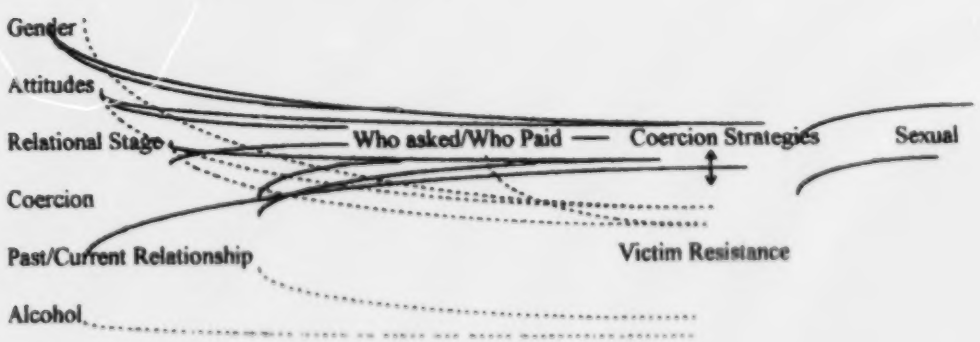
Taken together, this research suggests that women increase risk by going to a man's apartment, have a decreased likelihood of avoiding the rape if she does go, and is perceived as more willing to engage in sex by deciding to go to the man's apartment.

Rationale For the Model

In the following section, an overview of the variable configurations and expected relationships are briefly outlined. Given that a thorough review was presented in the previous section, only brief summaries will be offered in this section. First, however, an illustration of the proposed model is offered below:

KEY: _____ = expected direct relationship

- - - - - - = expected indirect relationship



Variables Expected to Relate to "Who asked/Who Paid"

Gender

"Gender" is a factor that will likely affect "who asked" and "who paid." As noted earlier, most dates follow traditional dating scripts. Therefore, it is expected that men will typically be the ones to initiate a date and to pay for the date.

Attitudes Toward Women

As noted earlier, those who adopt and exercise more masculine, traditional gender roles typically hold traditional views toward dating and relational expectations. Specifically, those holding masculine gender roles are more inclined to believe that it is the man who does the asking and the paying when it comes to dating and, consequently, may view date rape as justifiable. Similarly, traditional men (as opposed to more androgynous or feminine men) are more likely to hold negative attitudes toward women, callous attitudes toward women, or are inclined to accept rape myths. Overall, men who view women as inferior often will take control of the situation, set the rules, and call the shots rather than accept a woman doing so.

Similarly, it is expected that women who asked or paid for the date will be perceived as more promiscuous, more willingly to engage in sex, or that men will find date rape in that instance as more justifiable.

Relational Stage

It is expected that relational stage will affect "who asked and who paid." Specifically, it is anticipated that the man will ask and pay most of the time across relational stages if the man is traditional. However, the trend of consistent asking and paying will likely diminish somewhat as the relationship advances in relational stage (i.e., moves from casually dating to seriously dating).

In more nontraditional couples, particularly if the male is more nontraditional, it is expected that men and women will initiate and pay for dates similarly, perhaps, taking turns or "going dutch."

Past/Current Relationship

Similar to relational stage, it is expected that the past or current relational status will affect who asked and who paid. Specifically, it is expected that those in current relationships will be more likely to

share asking and expenses, particularly if the male is nontraditional. However, if the male is more traditional or if the couple are acquaintances or had experienced a past dating relationship, it is expected that the couple will be more inclined to turn to traditional dating scripts as an initial guide. Thus, in such cases, it is expected that the man will ask and pay.

Variables Expected to Relate to "Coercion Strategies"

Gender

From both a sexual and gender standpoint, it is expected that the man will typically exercise verbal coercion strategies and physical coercion strategies in order to obtain sex. It is expected that men who are more traditional in nature will exercise more adverse strategies.

Attitudes Toward Women

Men who are more traditional and who accept negative or adversarial views toward women (e.g., accept rape myth, accept interpersonal violence, hold adversarial sexual beliefs) are expected to engage in more destructive verbal coercion strategies (e.g., taunting, threats) and physical coercion strategies (e.g., hitting, pushing, holding down, actual rape).

Relational Stage

Relational stage is expected to affect coercion strategies used. Specifically, it is expected that coercion strategy usage will increase as the relationship advances in stage. Specifically, that a sexual outcome is a function of relational stage (e.g., "You should have sex with me because we've been dating for so long"). With traditional men, it is expected that coercion strategy use will not significantly vary by relational stage such that coercion strategies will be used consistently across stages. That is, traditional men involved in less advanced relational stages may coerce sex because they asked and paid for the date and believe that they are "owed" or by simple virtue that "he is a man" and such actions are expected of men. As relationships advance in relational stage, sex may be expected and pursued the traditional man views her as his property (e.g., his woman, his fiancee', his wife).

Past/Current Relationship

Similarly, men in current romantic relationships (at various relational stages) will likely pursue sex

by the virtue of the stage, particularly if he is traditional (e.g., "This is what dating people do"). As well, men who have had a past acquaintanceship or romantic relationship with the woman may feel as though that he knows the woman and that pursuing sex is acceptable. In particular, and as reviewed in the literature review, it is expected that men will be more likely to pursue sex with a woman if he has had a past sexual relationship with the woman (e.g., "You slept with me before, you can do it again").

Who asked/Who paid

Briefly, it is expected that a man who asked for the date or who paid for the date will be more likely to pursue sex and exercise coercive strategies than if he did not ask or pay for the date. In particular, it is expected that the man will engage in more forceful coercion strategies if he spent a lot of money on the woman. It is not expected, however, that a woman's asking or paying for the date will relate to her use of verbally coercive or physically coercive strategies.

Alcohol/Drugs

As reviewed earlier, the use of alcohol or drugs certainly plays a role in the incidence of sexual coercion and even actual rape. Thus, it is expected that use of alcohol or drugs will relate to the likelihood that coercive strategies are used and also contribute to the likelihood that forceful strategies are used (e.g., increased threats, physical abuse, actual rape). It is expected that women's inhibitions will be lowered such that they may be slightly more coercive. Men, particularly traditional men, are expected to be more coercive as a function of alcohol or drug ingestion.

Victim Resistance

Following the man's *first* attempt at a coercive strategy, it is expected that the woman's response and degree of resistance to the overture will affect subsequent coercion strategies. Due to reasons mentioned earlier, it is expected that nontraditional men will decrease coercive strategy-use following resistance to the overture whereas traditional men will respond to the resistance with another coercive strategy.

Variables Related to "Victim Resistance"

Coercion Strategies

It is expected that the amount and degree of coercion strategies used will have the most direct relationship with the woman's ability to resist the coercive overture. Specifically, it is expected that her resistance will lower as verbal coercive strategies increase (e.g., incessant nagging, threats, putdowns) or physical strategies (e.g., hitting, pushing, being held down, being forced to have sex).

On a secondary, less direct level, it is expected that gender, attitudes, relational stage, past/current relationship, who asked/who paid, and use of alcohol or drugs will also play a role in the level of a woman's resistance. First, women are typically inferior to men in terms of biological strength; second, traditional women are socialized to comply with men; third, women in advanced relational stages may believe that they should give in—even if they don't want to—as a function of the stage (e.g., "having sex is what seriously dating people are supposed to do"); fourth, and similar to the previous example, women in current relationships may feel that sex is something they "owe" their partner as a function of their role in their relationship and as a function of the stage. As well, women who have had past acquaintanceship with the man may give in because she may believe that she "led" the man on. Finally, women who have had a past sexual relationship with the man may believe that there is no turning back or "reclaiming" abstinence with that person; fifth, women who were invited out by the man or who allowed the man to pay for the date may feel as though they "owe" the man for his time, effort, or expenses. Thus, they may give in due to guilt; finally, it is expected that a woman's ability to resist coercion will decrease as a function of alcohol or drugs. Thus, due to her lowered inhibitions, she may less inclined to argue or be less able to fight off physical force.

Considering the aforementioned variables and relationships, we finally turn to the use of coercion strategies and the use of resistance strategies as the most direct determinants of the actual sexual coercion taking place. Specifically, increased use of coercive strategies is expected to increase the likelihood of sexual coercion whereas increased resistance is expected to lower the likelihood of actual sexual coercion. In cases of similar use of coercive strategies by the man and resistance strategies by the woman, it is expected that the man will prevail due to biological strength and the prevalence of traditional gender role socialization.

Method

Literature Collection

The data was collected by using electronic data bases and a search of the reference section for applicable manuscripts. The search generated hundreds of manuscripts that were examined for possible data relevant to this investigation. A manuscript was considered relevant if there was an estimate of an effect that could be calculated between any of the twelve relevant variables in this analysis: (a) Gender-classified as biologically male or female using self-reports, (b) Attitudes towards women, (c) Relational stage-whether a causal, committed, or formalized relationship, (d) whether the relationship was current or past, (e) Who asked whom for the occasion, (f) Who paid for the date, (g) Whether alcohol or drugs were consumed by either or both persons, (h) The level of coerciveness of the strategy used by the male, (i) The level of resistance offered by the victim, (j) Degree of responsibility of the victim of the assault, (k) Degree that the assault was viewed as an assault that the male was responsible for the action, and (l) The place or setting of the date or the assault.

The analysis tried to find all the relevant studies that could contribute to this analysis to build a correlation matrix where each separate entry combined the relevant data. The ability to find a correlation between each separate variable would indicate that a complete test of the causal model could be conducted. By moving to combined data sets the sample size would be substantially increased, making any test of the model, a very powerful test. The analysis presented in this paper should be considered preliminary, despite the examination of hundreds of manuscripts, many more hundreds exist that need to be considered. The hope is that the examination of these additional manuscripts will provide sufficient information to permit the inclusion of additional variables.

Statistical Analysis

The first step in that analysis was the extraction of effects by a conversion to a common metric. After converting the effects to a common metric, the effects were then averaged to provide an entry into the second part of the analysis when testing the causal model. The procedures for extraction of effects and the averaging of the information are found in Hunter and Schmidt (1990). The procedures are a standard part of meta-analysis and used in previous investigations (Emmers & Allen, 1995).

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Effects were corrected for attenuated measurement where reliability information was provided in the investigation. This correction is important because if the reliability among the various elements is different, than the subsequent path test will not be accurate because some correlations will be differentially effected by the variation in the reliability of the measurement. That is, variables whose measurement instruments are lower in reliability would systematically produce lower correlations and therefore underestimates of the relationship with other variables. This is contrasted with measures like the self-report of gender where the expectation is a virtually perfect reliability (even when using a single item). There would be little attenuation and therefore no reduction in the size of the effect observed based on inaccuracy in the measurement device.

Effects were not tested for homogeneity. This produces the possibility that there exists moderator or additional variables that may influence the nature of the system. While such a consideration deserves exploration it should be pointed out that in a single study the correlations produced for analysis would be subject to the same possibilities. The results however should be interepreted with some caution, the generalizability of the model may change, if and when, additional sources of variability are identified and included in the analysis. This possibility, however, is not unique to the use of meta-analysis and takes place whenever a causal modeling procedure is used. Other potential variables, by noninclusion, may make any representation misleading. Since no test of a system can include all elements, the solution is not to avoid testing models but rather to keep testing models to improve and define the parameters of that system.

The model was tested using the a two stage ordinary least squares (OLS) solution generated by Path (Hamilton & Hunter, 1990). This method is a preferred method when the measurement model and the substantive model are separated. Since the measurement model tests occur when the original data were collected, it is impossible to reexamine those tests and combine them for a meaningful analysis. The results is that the measurement model correction only considers attenuated measurement. Since different investigations can and do use different measurement techniques for the same variable, the corrections differ in magnitude. The test of the causal model produces a chi-square test that compares the actual correlation matrix to a theoretical matrix that would exist is the correlations indicative of the paths are accepted. The test of the model is of the connections not directly included in the analysis. The model assumes that the

connections are true, the test of the chi-square is whether the implied indirect connections are consistent with the hypothesized paths. A model that is not inconsistent will generate a theoretical model that resembles the actual matrix. The indication of this is a nonsignificant chi-square statistic distributed at k-1 degrees of freedom, where k is the number of correlations in the test.

Results

Data Summary

A summary of the data appears in Table 1. Table 1 indicates the number of studies (k), the size of the sample for the effect (n), and the average effect measured by a correlation coefficient. The effects were not tested for variability and therefore no assumptions about the homogeneity or lack thereof can be assumed. The summary correlation matrix serves as the basis for the test of the causal model.

Test of Model

The Model is displayed in Figure 1. The results of the test indicate that the model is not inconsistent with the data X^2 (4, average N = 871) = 4.25, $p > .05$. The analysis indicates the effects when put in the form of the model are not inconsistent. An examination of the model indicates the expected kind of model was confirmed by the test. The model considers both perceptions of actions and retrospective reports of actions. What the model suggests is that men have worse attitudes towards women (path = -.29). A positive attitude towards women will view events as more coercive (path = .25) and view a strategy to engage in sex as more coercive (path = .11). If no prior relationship exists then the events are viewed as more coercive (path = .21). Finally, the more the perception of the coerciveness of the strategy, the higher the level of coerciveness of the event (path = .21). The results of the model are consistent with expectations of the relationships among the variables.

Discussion

The results indicate a model that fits the available data. The model suggests that there is a contribution of various factors to the incidence of the assault or the perceptions of the attack. The gender of the person perceiving the actions does contribute to a difference in the model. Not surprisingly, the biological difference between the persons predicts a difference in the attitudes towards women. Women

have a better attitude towards members of their own gender than to males. It should be pointed out that the scales are targeted at attitudes about sexual behaviors and the treatment of women as sexual objects.

The disappointment in the test of the model comes from the inability to add more elements to the model. The difficulty stems from missing correlational estimates that would permit the addition of features to this analysis. The problem is that if any element is missing, despite relevant data on the other elements, the entire variable must be deleted from the analysis. To deal with the lack of information, additional studies are being sought and the literature search expanded in the effort to provide entries to complete the analysis. This problem could be reduced were every study expected of provide in the published text a complete correlation matrix. The lack of a matrix means that the missing information is not recoverable or accessible, particularly twenty or more years later. As more research and summarization of this type occurs, the importance of the inclusion of this information will become evident and the need to make sure this information is available should become a standard part of the practice of scientific research.

The term "causal modeling" is actually a misnomer, the correct designation is "structural equation modeling." The statistical test examines whether the structure observed among the variables can be explained as a result of a particular configuration. The interpretation provided by the relevant theory is what creates the view that the relationships should be interpreted as causal. Alternative theories and configurations of the data are possible that would be consistent with the information contained in this report. The availability of the complete correlation matrix means that other persons could test alternative interpretations as they are developed. The process of science is cumulative and the past data as well as future data continues to contribute to the development and evaluation of accounts. As noted earlier, the failure to examine potential moderator analyses in any particular correlation indicates that the potential for reexamination of the model is not only possible but necessary. Between any two variables in a model there is a potential set of infinite subprocesses and other variables that could be hypothesized and tested. The understanding of subprocess information requires a full examination of the issues at a different level. The net effect is that any model is usually both macro to a potentially more micro examination, and micro to any potentially more macro analysis.

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The largest importance of these findings is the understanding of how people perceive the acts of coercion in the context of a date, relationship, or setting that defines the application of the term "rape." The difference in perception, particularly by gender, indicates that acts are viewed as less coercive and probably less serious by men than women. This relationship is mediated by the degree to which the person's attitudes towards women as a sex object is positive or negative. While obviously heterosexual women are unlikely to commit a coercive sexual act against another woman, they do serve on juries, as members of a social support network for victims, as well as contributing to the general climate surrounding the issues of sexual coercion. The results demonstrate that while women are less likely than men to view coercion as acceptable the basic attitudes remain the same, that is they would view the same level of coerciveness as less likely to be rape in an established relationship than in a new or causal relationship. That women would accept a status of hostility towards women as sex objects are less likely to view acts as coercive. The data suggest that while on average, women are more sensitive to the issues, they are not fundamentally viewing the process differently than males.

The importance of the finding is the issues of both perception and action. At the level of action, the model indicates that persons with hostility towards women are more likely to view coercive strategies as an acceptable means of gaining compliance with sexual requests. An established or ongoing relationship views higher levels of coercion as justified by the male. The results indicate that the male perception of the acceptability of action come from a combination of poor attitude and an existing relationship. Consider, that in the context of an existing relationship the woman is aware of the attitude and the implication of implied consent exists, particularly if the behavior is habitual. The results of the model suggest that coercion is perceived as more justified as the male attitude towards a woman is poorer, particularly in the context of an existing relationship.

The implications of the model are for educational and intervention efforts. Should the findings be sustained by the inclusion of additional variables and data, there exists an obvious course of action. The fundamental attitude that persons have toward women as sexual objects of desire should be addressed. The view of the function of a women as simply sexual objects contributes to the potential for coercive sexual

practices. Whether effective means of changing those attitudes can be established and implemented represents a major challenge for persons concerned about this social problem.

A lot of the issues and variables represent conditions under which sexual relationships occur (prior relationships, drugs, alcohol, setting, etc.). What these studies can do is serve as a data base to provide information to men and women about how various actions are perceived. If the source of problems are misperception and/or lack of social skills, then a great deal of effort to inform all persons about these implications would prove useful. The key is to get past a sense of blaming one or another person for the actions and to an understanding of these actions with an effort towards prevention and education.

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Table 1

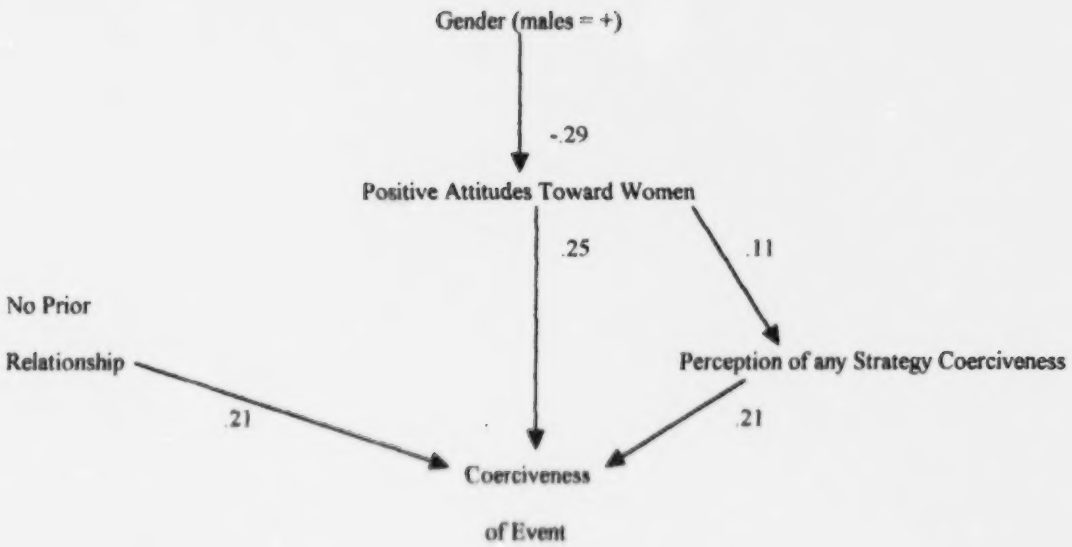
Summary of Effect Sizes from Studies

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. Gender					
2. Attitudes Towards Women	.292				
	6				
	1774				
3. Past/Current Relationship	.128	-.040			
	4	1			
	1207	276			
4. Coerciveness of Strategy	.030	.110	.150		
	1	4	1		
	229	1085	357		
5. Sexual Coercion	.235	.261	.372	.291	
	2	9	3	3	
	827	2140	447	375	

First line indicates the average correlation, the second line the number of studies (k), and the last line is the total sample size for that estimate.

Figure 2

Tested Model



All paths significant at .05